

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05  
PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 IO-13 /075 W  
-----311837Z 044320 /44

O R 311715Z DEC 76  
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6534  
INFO AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

UNCLAS PRETORIA 5919

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: PFOR, RH  
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: IAN SMITH'S NEW YEAR'S ADDRESS

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PORTION OF IAN SMITH'S NEW YEAR  
ADDRESS CONCERNING NEGOTIATIONS. SPEECH IS TO BE DELIVERED  
AT 2000 LOCAL TIME TODAY:

2. QUOTE I TURN NOW TO THE MATTER WHICH IS UPPERMOST IN THE  
MINDS OF ALL RHODESIANS, NAMELY THE SITUATION THAT HAS DEVELOPED  
SINCE MY GOVERNMENT'S ACCEPTANCE ON 24TH SEPTEMBER OF THE  
ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT  
WHICH HAD BEEN PUT TO ME IN PRETORIA BY DR. KISSINGER. IN  
MY ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON THAT DAY I MADE IT CLEAR THAT  
THEY WERE NOT OUR PROPOSALS AND THAT WE DID NOT CONSIDER THAT  
THEY PROVIDED THE IDEAL SOLUTION, BUT WE ACCEPTED THEM IN  
GOOD FAITH AS A PACKAGE DEAL ON CONDITION THAT THEY WERE  
ACCEPTED BY THE OTHER PARTIES CONCERNED. A MAJOR FACTOR  
INFLUENCING OUR ACCEPTANCE WAS THAT THE PROPOSALS CONTAINED  
PROVISIONS WHICH WOULD ENSURE AN ORDERLY AND STABLE TRANSITIONAL  
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PERIOD AND WHICH WOULD ENABLE US TO SAFEGUARD THE SECURITY OF  
OUR COUNTRY. IN THE WORDS OF THE BRITISH ORIGINATORS OF THE  
PROPOSALS, THEY PROVIDED A SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES  
WITHIN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

3. LET ME REMIND YOU THAT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN AGREEMENT STATED

THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT WOULD MEET IMMEDIATELY WITH AFRICAN LEADERS TO SET UP THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, THE FIRST PHASE OF WHICH WOULD BE THE APPOINTMENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE. TODAY, MORE THAN THREE MONTHS LATER AND AFTER SEVEN FRUITLESS WEEKS IN GENEVA, WE ARE NO NEARER TO THAT FIRST ESSENTIAL STEP BECAUSE CERTAIN OF THE BLACK LEADERS WHO TAKE THEIR ORDERS FROM OUTSIDE RHODESIA HAVE BEEN ALLOWED TO CALL THE TUNE. THE TUNE THEY ARE CALLING IS ONE WHICH WOULD LEAD QUITE INEVITABLY TO CHAOS AND STRIFE IN RHODESIA FOR THEY HAVE REJECTED ALL THOSE ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSALS THAT WOULD ENSURE STABILITY AND SECURITY. YOU HAVE MY ASSURANCE THAT I AND MY GOVERNMENT HAVE NO INTENTION OF ACQUIESCING IN THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS. WE REGARD THE SECURITY OF OUR COUNTRY AND OF ITS PEOPLE AS OUR PRIME RESPONSIBILITY AND WE SHALL DISCHARGE THAT RESPONSIBILITY COME WHAT MAY.

4. ONE OF THE MAJOR REASONS FOR THE FAILURE AT GENEVA WAS THE AIR OF UNREALITY THAT WAS PERMITTED TO DEVELOP AND FLOURISH. FOR EXAMPLE, THE FICTION WAS ENCOURAGED THAT THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT EXIST, THAT I AND MY DELEGATION, INCLUDING THE CIVIL SERVANTS, WERE MERELY A GROUP OF INDIVIDUALS, THAT A SETTLEMENT COULD BE IMPLEMENTED SIMPLY BY THE PASSAGE OF BRITISH LEGISLATION WITHOUT TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE LAWS AND CONSTITUTION OF RHODESIA. I CAN ONLY HOPE THAT THE PERIOD OF ADJOURNMENT WILL AFFORD AN OPPORTUNITY FOR AN UNDERSTANDING AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE BASIC REALITIES OF THE SITUATION. THESE ARE, FIRSTLY, THAT UNLIKE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH, RHODESIA WAS AT NO TIME GOVERNED BY WHITEHALL: SECONDLY, THAT IN THE EYES OF THE COURTS THE PRESENT RHODESIAN CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT ARE THE ONLY LEGAL  
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CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY; THIRDLY, THAT ANY CONSTITUTIONAL AGREEMENT REACHED CAN ONLY BE GIVEN FORCE AND EFFECT IN RHODESIA BY THE PASSAGE OF THE APPROPRIATE LEGISLATION THROUGH THE RHODESIAN PARLIAMENT BY THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT. WITHOUT A REALISATION AND ACCEPTANCE OF THESE BASIC FACTS AND OF THEIR IMPLICATIONS, I CAN SEE NO PROSPECT OF PROGRESS.

5. IN MY ADDRESS OF 24TH SEPTEMBER WHICH, I MIGHT SAY, RECEIVED WARM APPROBATION FROM THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS, I MENTIONED THAT ALL CONCERNED SET GREAT STORE BY THE CREATION OF CONDITIONS WHICH WOULD ENCOURAGE WHITE RHODESIANS TO STAY AND CONTINUE TO PLAY A PART IN THE COUNTRY THEY HAD DONE SO MUCH TO DEVELOP. I REGRET THAT THE ACTIONS AND WORDS OF CERTAIN OF THE BLACK LEADERS AND THE INTEMPERATE DEMANDS THEY MADE AT GENEVA HAVE DONE NOTHING TO GENERATE AMONG WHITE RHODESIANS ANY REAL CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE. PERHAPS THIS IS INEVITABLE IN A SITUATION IN WHICH THESE LEADERS

ARE VYING WITH EACH OTHER IN EXTREMISM. AGAIN, I CAN ONLY HOPE THAT THE PRESENT PAUSE FOR REFLECTION WILL ENABLE A GREATER SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY AND MATURITY TO DEVELOP IN THOSE CONCERNED.

6. TOMORROW THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONFERENCE WILL BE VISITING SALISBURY AND I UNDERSTAND THAT HE WILL BRING PROPOSALS WHICH REPRESENT A SUBSTANTIAL VARIATION IN PRINCIPLE FROM THE ANGLO-AMERICAN AGREEMENT WHICH WE MADE IN SEPTEMBER. IN SPITE OF THE UNREALISTIC NATURE OF SOME OF THESE REPORTED PROPOSALS, WE SHALL, OF COURSE, EXAMINE THEM VERY CAREFULLY ON THEIR MERITS, BUT I MUST AGAIN POINT OUT THAT THE ORIGINAL ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS WERE PUT TO ME AS A PACKAGE DEAL, WHICH IT WAS MADE CLEAR HAD TO BE ACCEPTED IN ITS ENTIRETY, OR REJECTED. WE ACCEPTED IN ALL GOOD FAITH AND WE ARE STANDING BY READY TO IMPLEMENT THE PORPOSALS IN THEIR ENTIRETY, BUT I MUST AGAIN MAKE IT VERY CLEAR THAT OUR ACCEPTANCE WAS CONDITIONAL ON THE PROPOSALS BEING ACCEPTED IN THEIR ENTIRETY BY THE OTHER PARTIES. IF THEY REJECT ANY OF UNCLASSIFIED

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THE BASIC PRINCIPLES, THEN THEY WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR BREAKING THE AGREEMENT, WHICH WILL CLEARLY MEAN THAT ALL THE CONDITIONS, INCLUDING THE TWO-YEAR TRANSITIONAL PERIOD TO MAJORITY RULE, WILL FALL AWAY.

7. IT WOULD CERTAINLY BE A SERIOUS INDICTMENT OF THE DOUBLE STANDARDS PRACTISED BY SOME SECTIONS OF THE FREE WORLD, IF THEY WERE NOW TO CONDEMN ME BECAUSE OF MY WISH TO STAND BY THE AGREEMENT WHICH THEY MADE WITH ME.

8. LET ME STRESS THAT I ANY MY COLLEAGUES IN GOVERNMENT REMAIN DEDICATED TO THE OBJECTIVE OF REACHING A CONSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT THAT WILL ENSURE STABILITY AND A PEACEFUL FUTURE FOR ALL RHODESIANS. WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF BEING COERCED INTO ONE WHICH WE KNOW WILL LEAD TO CERTAIN CHAOS.

9. FINALLY, LET ME ONCE AGAIN COMPLIMENT THIS WONDERFUL RHODESIAN NATION ON THEIR INDOMITABLE SPIRIT, AND THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY HAVE OVERCOME EVERY PROBLEM WHICH AS CONFRONTED THEM. IT IS AN INCREDIBLE STORY OF COURAGE, DETERMINATION, ABILITY AND STAYING POWER IN THE FACE OF ALMOST INSUPERABLE ODDS - A COMPLETE AND UTTER DEDICATION TO THE CAUSE OF PRESERVING ONE SIMPLE, BUT GREAT IDEAL - FREEDOM. I WONDER WHETHER HISTORY WILL EVER AGAIN RECORD SUCH A BRAVE STAND BY SO SMALL A NATION.

10. ON BEHALF OF MY GOVERNMENT, AND MYSELF, I WISH YOU ALL HAPPINESS, PROSPERITY, AND ABOVE ALL, PEACE, IN THIS NEW YEAR BEFORE US. END QUOTE.  
BOWDLER

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